

What com  
 Not high-raised  
 Thick wall  
 Nor cities proud  
 Nor bays, and  
 Where, laughing at  
 Nor stared  
 Where low-browed  
 No; - Men,  
 With powers as far  
 In forest, be  
 As beasts excel

P. 1-16  
 + 64-76  
 MISSING

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data been  
 corrected

"Woman and  
 Politics"  
 1898

state?

laboured mound,  
 gate;  
 and towers crowned;  
 med ports, -  
 ich navies ride;  
 led Courts,  
 perfume to pride.  
 Men, -  
 brutes, Endued  
 and brambles rude.



What constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlements, or laboured mound,  
Thick wall, or moated gate;  
Nor cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;  
Nor bays, and broad-armed ports, —  
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;  
Nor stanced and spangled Courts,  
Where low-browed baseness bears perfume to pride.  
No; — Men, high-minded Men, —  
With powers as far above dull brutes, Endued  
In forest, brake, or den,  
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude.



In the whole range of history there is no more fascinating land than that of Ancient Greece —

Every page is a romance — whether we read of its famous battles like Thermopylae and Salamis or, of its councils of Peace.

Chief among the latter was the celebrated 'Amphietyonic Council' ~~when~~, in that remote period of antiquity, was laid the foundation of the only true and legitimate government among men. What a change came over Greece a few centuries later!



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Now had its glory departed! Its fine  
Cities, <sup>were</sup> destroyed — its arts, learning and  
freedom, <sup>were</sup> inundated by Turkish ignorance,  
oppression and barbarity.

Its charming  
scenery remains.

"The mountains look  
on Marathon — and Marathon looks  
upon the sea" — but where are its splendid  
~~Monuments~~ Monuments and Sacred  
Temples? They are all in decay.

"Tis Greece — but living Greece no more."  
Byron never strung his harp to sweeter  
strains than in his lamentation over —  
The Isles of Greece! the isles of Greece!  
Where burning Sappho loved and sung, —



Where grew the arts of war and peace, —  
 Where Delos rose and Phabus sprung!  
 Eternal summer gilds them yet —  
 But all, except their sun, is set.

The Scian and the Teian muse,  
 The hero's harp, the love's lute,  
 Have found the fame your shores refuse, —  
 Their place of birth alone is mute  
 To sounds which echo farther west  
 Than your sires' "Islands of the Blessed".

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Among the distinguished  
 philosophers and reformers in the schools  
 of Athens, Socrates and Plato stand  
 out the most prominent.

Their lives, embodying so much purity



and wisdom, have come down to us through the ages as a grand inheritance.

Socrates

was the first to teach the Fatherhood of God for all mankind — not restricted by Sect or tribe — embracing fraternally both Jew and Gentile: not for the Israelites alone — as Moses taught. <sup>It was for</sup> For this he was sacrificed to the cowardice of those who dreaded his integrity — <sup>transpire</sup> condemned to die by drinking poisonous hemlock.

Against

the accusation that he sought to establish a new worship — and would not acknowledge the Gods of the Republic —



thereby corrupting young men, in his defence he said, that it was his constant endeavor to improve the minds and regulate the morals of the young — but however he might be obliged to conform to the outward ceremonies of heathen worship, in his heart he certainly despised the absurdities of their tenets.

His opinion was, that there exists only one true God.

Socrates received his sentence of death with <sup>what heroic</sup> ~~the utmost~~ serenity!

How characteristic was his reply when One of his disciples, breaking



forth into bitter invectives and lamentations  
that his master should die innocent—  
what! replied Socrates, with a smile—would  
you have me die guilty?

Militus and  
Anytus may kill but they cannot  
hurt me.

How many since that period  
have inaugurated reform by treading  
paths of martyrdom with bloody feet!

Among these has there ever  
been displayed more heroic courage—  
a loftier devotion to truth and duty—  
than that by his modern prototype—  
in our own generation, John Brown of Harper's Ferry—



"his soul is marching on".

His memory will  
never perish.

As a martyr of Freedom  
he will be endeared to the hearts of  
millions yet unborn.

The manner of his  
death, in the <sup>focal</sup> cumulated light of the  
Nineteenth Century, will in coming  
years be regarded as <sup>an act</sup> of greater turpitude  
than was ~~that of~~ ~~the hanging~~ the hanging  
of Mary Dyer on Boston Common  
for being guilty of disseminating  
Quaker principles. ~~This was done~~ on Puritan

fathers who fled from <sup>transports</sup> their own  
country to seek refuge for  
religious freedom — for themselves.  
and then



"his soul is marching on".

His memory will  
never perish.

As a martyr of Freedom  
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death, in the <sup>focal</sup> cumulated light of the  
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than was ~~that of our~~ the hanging  
of Mary Dyer on Boston Common

country to seek refuge for religious liberty on a  
foreign shore.



The sins of those who denounced him  
~~will~~ so bitterly will build his sepulchre.

In the great composure he showed  
~~manifest~~ before being led out to die—  
 manifesting even a cheerful spirit—in  
 conversation with friends—there was  
 a striking similarity to the tranquility  
 of Socrates who spent his latest moments  
 in conversing on his favorite theme—the  
 immortality of the soul.

Both were sustained  
 by the confidence of being in the  
 line of duty—

Whether upon the scaffold high  
 Or in the battle van,—  
 The fittest place for man to die,  
 Is when he dies for man.



Where the greatness of Nations measured  
 by the extent of their boundaries —  
 or the number of their inhabitants —  
 Greece, shut in behind the mountains  
 and the sea, never could have attained  
 the importance and exerted the influence  
 it did in the world.

It would be well  
 for us, Americans — in our pride of  
 territory, extending from the lakes to  
 the gulf — and from the Atlantic Coast  
 to the golden gate of the Pacific — comprising  
~~about~~ 4 millions square miles  
~~within the limits of it. Twenty Eight~~  
~~it~~ with forty millions of inhabitants —



to bear in mind that it is not the  
extent of territory but the expansion of  
ideas which gives permanent power  
and real greatness to National life.

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Greece was at length  
swallowed up by the rapacious Roman  
Empire whose Emperors could not be  
satisfied until their bloody scepter  
extended <sup>over</sup> Europe, Asia and Africa.



The recent Archeological discoveries on the plains of Greece by Dr. Henri Schliemann, the distinguished German Explorer, as given in the late papers, are very interesting.

He has discovered a monument which marks the tombs of Agamemnon and other distinguished men of Greece—who flourished 3,000 years ago.

In which ~~are~~ were found immense treasures sufficient to fill a large Museum—Plate, Diamonds, Woman's Jewelry, &c. Some of which were very curious—



like the large head of a Cow in  
silver with immense horns of gold.

~~more very curious.~~

As he is labouring  
solely for the love of science, he  
gives them all to Greece.



Four centuries after the death of Socrates  
we reach that most important era in  
history, when a new and powerful  
impetus was given to the world, through  
the life and teaching of Jesus of  
Nazareth.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,  
With a glory in his bosom, which transfigures you and me—  
lifting the world to a higher and grander  
conception of truth and practical  
righteousness than had ever been taught  
by philosopher, sage or prophet—  
He, more  
than any other outspoken leader of past ages



dared to live out his highest idea —  
 opposing the established order of  
 Superstitious Ceremonials — and  
 denouncing the fewish idea of God  
 as a man after their own image —  
 with multiplied and magnified powers.

Because he taught that  
 God is a Spirit — not located on a  
 mountain nor yet at Jerusalem —  
 that the Temple of the Lord is within —  
 and that his Kingdom comes not  
 by outward observation — he was  
 condemned and crucified.

Did time permit — we would  
 not turn the pages of Roman History  
 and follow, in all their sickening  
 details their intrigues, Conspiracies and Crimes —



dared to live out his highest idea —  
 opposing the established order of  
 Superstitious Ceremonials — and  
 denouncing the  Jewish  idea of God  
 as a man after their own image —  
 with multiplied and magnified powers.

Because he taught that  
 God is a Spirit — not located on a  
 Mountain nor yet at Jerusalem —  
 that the Temple of the Lord is  
 and that by  
 by outward observation, he was accused  
 of taking away their Gods.

Did time permit — we would  
 not turn the pages of Roman History  
 and follow, in all their sickening  
 details their intrigues, Conspiracies and Crimes —



their wars and conquests — their desperate  
struggles for supremacy — so rapidly and  
~~uninterruptedly~~ ~~uninterruptedly~~ attained.

Rapine and Cruelty  
at that period seemed to be commensurate  
with glory.

The insatiable ambition of  
the Cæsars could not be stayed.

They  
went forth conquering and to conquer —  
until ~~the~~ fortune changed — and the  
fall of the ~~R-~~ Empire was as  
signal and rapid as its rise had  
been glorious.



The Roman Empire was impoverished by its wealth — and, after intermittent spasms, died of repletion.

It touched its ruin when its coffers overflowed with vast revenues obtained through extortion.

These means, instead of being expended for the equal benefit of all — were wasted in riotous living and the most extravagant luxuries.

In this way the Romans lost their wonted vigor — ~~they became~~ <sup>They became</sup> weak and dependent — ~~and they became victims of~~ <sup>and they became victims of</sup> their own vices and corruptions, an easy prey to conquerors. The oppressive rule of the Romans recoiled upon themselves, when, ~~being the~~ <sup>being the</sup> ~~slaves of~~ <sup>slaves of</sup> the Northern barbarians — ~~from their~~ <sup>from their</sup>

Goths and Vandals — overran their Imperial Dominions. Crossing the Danube, they came down upon them squadron after squadron, — demolishing splendid cities — and



subjugating the inhabitants  
under the iron heel of war, ~~and~~  
~~spreading carnage~~ Everywhere  
spreading carnage, devastation  
and ruin.

The dark ages followed.

Ignorance, Bigotry and Superstition  
made that darkness palpable.

The Pope assumed  
to be King of Kings, and God's  
Vice-gerent on earth.

All learning  
was confined to the Monasteries.

The alphabet was  
forbidden.

Only Priests, Monks, and



others who held Holy Orders were permitted to use that Key which unlocks the treasures of Knowledge.

None understood better than these learned Prelates that the "pen is mightier than the sword" — that the control of the Papal Church, (then supreme) — could not survive the general diffusion of Knowledge.

During this period of darkness, the world appeared at a stand-still point — or — falling back into chaos.

But this could not be.



In some occult manner it  
 must have been gathering ~~forces~~  
~~for future progress~~ — invisible  
<sup>for future progress</sup> forces — far more potent than those  
 apparent to the senses — that unseen,  
 intangible power

which is discoverable only in its  
 results — as light is seen only  
 when intercepted by some  
 visible object — on which it  
 paints itself in lines of beauty.

Something must have  
 been at work gathering up —



In some occult manner it  
 must have been gathering ~~force~~  
~~for future progress~~ — invisible  
<sup>for future progress</sup> forces — far more potent than those  
 apparant to the senses — that unseen,  
 intangible power

which is discoverable only in its  
 effects — as light is seen only  
 as it is intercepted by some  
 substance — on which it  
 has an effect in lines of be-

you don't shake —  
 but the whole of Massachusetts.

Something must have  
 been at work gathering up —



like the undertow on the sea-shore —  
 the receding waves of progress —  
 preparing to dash them in one  
 mighty swell upon the confines  
 of that reactionary period, when  
 the revival of letters commenced —  
 and the heart of humanity began  
 to quicken with an ardent  
 desire for religious freedom,  
 culminating in Martin Luther.

The great Emperor  
 and conqueror Charlemagne —  
 was himself too ignorant of letters  
 to write his name — but <sup>it was said</sup> ~~signed~~ he  
 signed his treaties with the hilt of his sword



and enforced them with its point.

It was during his  
~~reign~~ <sup>by</sup> that the institution of  
 Chivalry <sup>which</sup> ~~arose~~ during his reign

This institution,  
 though colored all over with the  
 superstitious incident to the Crusaders —  
 having for its object the protection  
 of the weak against the strong —  
 the vassal against the baron —  
 exerted a benign and saving  
 influence during those turbulent  
 times when the whole world was  
 in a state of chronic warfare —  
 and the law of might universally prevailed.



The spirit of Chivalry ran like  
a thread of gold through the  
darkness of Medieval ages.

Men of finer mould  
at that time began to respect  
as well as to protect women —  
and to exalt them to a position  
unknown <sup>even</sup> in the most refined  
nations of Antiquity.

Women had  
been regarded not only as inferior —  
but as having been created for  
man's <sup>special</sup> benefit and pleasure — not  
in a mutual sense — but in a  
manner which had always tended



to subordinate her as a drudge  
or a toy.

Even the poet Milton,  
who wrote in those days, possessed  
not sufficient sensibility to discern  
that this Oriental idea was  
false and pernicious — or he  
could not have put upon the  
lips of Eve —

God is thy law, thou mine.

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If in the sudden reversion of sentiment  
during the days of Chivalry — women  
were deified and even worshipped —  
it was less objectionable than to be brutalized —  
and <sup>is</sup> tended more to promote her elevation.



as an equal human being.)

It was true Chivalry which taught Francis 1<sup>st</sup> to lay the foundation of a beautiful social system by introducing the wives and daughters of his Nobles at Court, where none but ~~knights~~ men had previously been seen — avowing that a Court without ladies is like a year without spring — or a spring without roses.

How much of the fashionable gallantry of society today has come down to us from



the ages of Chivalry—when most desperate  
battles were fought to avenge a lady's  
wrongs—or to win a lady's smile—  
we cannot estimate.

~~A gallantry on~~  
~~the part of man which would tip~~  
~~the hat or offer the best seat to a~~  
~~woman while he thinks he is doing~~  
~~her service is nothing but a set of knave's~~  
~~employments.~~

~~Mrs. Quixote has long since~~  
~~and with never pursued a woman~~  
~~only high wages do that.~~

The coloring  
in which imagination invests  
feudal times—when knights in



splendid armor and the glittering  
 fragrant of mingled war and  
 religion Captivated the senses — has  
 not been washed out by the stream  
 of time flowing down to the present  
practical period — notwithstanding  
 the mental and moral culture  
 which have intervened.

All this has  
 still a powerful hold on the  
 imagination of both men and women —  
 too many of the latter remaining  
 under the wing of Feudal ages —  
 which <sup>up to the present time</sup> casts ~~it~~ shadows upon  
 the face of Society in our own  
 day.



Causing women to be willing to 45  
Accepting unsubstantial  
gallantry for real respect.

History affords but very  
little data upon which to  
predicate the character of  
women of the lower ranks,  
in ancient <sup>or medieval</sup> times.



It sheds but feeble  
light upon this subject.

But when  
all its rays converge to a focus  
upon some small compendiums  
which have been written of her  
sayings and doings, the ability,  
courage, sagacity and persistency  
she has shown, are indeed surprising—  
considering her limitations—always  
tending to diminish that self-respect  
and personal responsibility which tends  
to develop the higher faculties of human nature and which  
has ~~always~~ elevates man.



She has had small opportunities  
 to rise above the merest frivolity—  
 having been sedulously and religiously  
 taught that her ~~greatest attribute~~  
~~most~~ most desirable characteristic is  
 according to Coleridge  
~~to~~ to be characterless.

~~A few~~  
~~weeks ago at the Chestnut St~~  
~~Club in Boston, which has~~  
~~become a famous institution~~

~~the most celebrated Savans, Poets~~  
~~Scientists, Philosophers &c of~~  
~~both hemispheres to discuss~~  
~~the great problems of the age~~



~~the question was mooted, why~~  
there exists so little data, upon  
which to predicate the character  
of woman in Ancient times).

It was suggested that  
where little else is preserved the  
laws of a nation generally remain  
intact.

Upon which Mrs Edna I  
Cheng created some merriment  
by the remark that in the absence  
of this testimony what would  
the people of future ages know  
of the women of today who  
by the Statutes of our own Country  
are classed with idiots, paupers, minors,  
Criminals &c.



Towering like Alpine heights  
above the level of ordinary woman-  
hood—are such characters as  
Cleopatra, who, in person commanded  
Sixty ships of war.

Zenobia, the beautiful queen of  
Palmyra, whose romantic career has  
been invested with so much  
interest by Mrs. Child's Classic  
romance, "Philothea"—the charming  
and learned Aspasia, wife of  
Pericles.

These characters of Ancient history  
are so superior—so exceptional



that they afford little clew to the  
 Every-day life of the <sup>woman</sup> ~~lower~~ <sup>whether of the</sup> ~~classes~~  
 lower & higher classes

The laws of most Nations  
 are apt to be preserved intact—  
 and handed down to posterity—  
 where other writings are destroyed.

But no very accurate  
 Knowledge of woman in any class  
 of Society could be obtained from  
 these.

Should the people of <sup>future ages</sup> 3,000 years  
 hence, search the Statutes of the present  
<sup>day—the</sup> partially civilized 19<sup>th</sup> century



to acquaint themselves with the progress of the women of America ~~today~~ — what idea would they get?

In what category would they find them classed?

There is no department of the work of the World whether in literature, art, science, pathology, jurisprudence, or even Surgery — in which women have not excelled — and if the ratio of excellence as to numbers and quality has not yet proved equal to man's work — her capacity to make it so cannot be gauged until her opportunities for improvement are equal to his — pecuniarily, educationally, and otherwise.



Queen Elizabeth of England  
in wise forethought, power and  
sagacity, was not surpassed  
by any of the Crowned heads of  
Europe.

England prospered  
under her reign as it never  
had before.

She seemed fully to  
comprehend the elements requisite  
for prosperity— and to possess  
the energy to ~~make them available~~  
~~enforce it.~~

Science and Arts  
flourished, and the Protestant Religion was  
protected.



More than any king that had  
 preceded her, she contributed to  
 the <sup>materia</sup> growth and progress of the Kingdom.

Admitting her power as a  
ruler it must be confessed she  
 was unnaturally selfish and  
 cruel as a woman.

We would  
 fain veil her numerous defects.

In a picture  
 of the Queens of Europe, we  
 would place her in the shadowy  
 back-ground and bring to the front  
 nobler specimens of feminine humanity—



like the generous Isabella of Spain  
 — Maria Theresa of Austria —  
 the learned and pious Lady  
 Jane Gray — the amiable  
 Queen Anna and the virtuous  
 Victoria of England — with  
 others who would better grace  
 a royal picture.

France has  
 furnished many heroic women,  
 among those who stand out  
 in bold relief are Madame  
 Roland, Charlotte Corday,



and Harriet Martineau of mental and political philosophy as well as of fiction.

Though of a different type of mind from either George Eliot of England, or George Sand of France—she is not a whit behind either of them in ability or power.

No female writer has as yet surpassed Madame de Staël author of "Germany"

France has furnished many heroic women. among those who stand out in bold relief are Madame Roland, Charlotte Corday,



and Joan of Arc.

Look at the ill-fated  
Madame Roland—the leading  
spirit of the Girondist party!  
See with what Spartan firmness—  
what undaunted step—she proceeds  
to meet her doom! ~~on the way~~  
rallying the shrinking victim who  
accompanies her with words of  
encouragement—and apostrophizing the  
Statue of Liberty which meets her eye—  
in those memorable words—Alas! oh,  
Liberty! what crimes are committed  
in thy name! Arrayed in a white robe  
with her glossy black hair falling loosely  
over it—she was the cynosure of all eyes



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as with unwavering fortitude she  
mounted the steps of the Scaffold  
and laid her head upon the block so  
totally recking with the blood of  
Maria Antoinette.

Thus perished,  
in the prime of life, under the  
remorseless ~~acts~~ <sup>eyes</sup> of the guillotine,  
~~and of nature's noblest work~~  
one of the most lovely and  
gifted—as well as influential  
women of France.

While we  
shudder at the deed which  
has placed



the name of Charlotte Corday among the heroines of her country - history awards her but the meed of praise - believing as she did that she drew the dagger in a righteous cause.

In the whole series of historic memories, there is nothing more touching than the martyrdom of that lovely peasant-girl of France - sweet Joan of Arc, - or more regal among queenly diadems than that glory crown she so proudly and royally wore, when the faggots blazed around her form on the Square of Rouen - from which her spirit ascended to Heaven.



She died with words of love and forgiveness  
upon her lips.

Day by day and  
night by night, she had listened  
to an inward summons which to  
her was the voice of God — a  
quickening impulse which inspired  
her to take up arms in defense  
of the liberty of France — as the  
deliverer of her beloved country.

She had fed  
the fires of devotion until they  
could be no longer repressed — but  
burst forth into an enthusiasm which  
made that consecrated maiden a power



No armies could resist.

Armed  
in steel armor with white plumes  
waving over her helmet, she went  
forth at the head of the army, and  
with divine impetuosity, led troop  
after troop to victory.

Poor Joan!

The whitest lily in the shield of France -  
With heart of virgin gold.

Now Memory weeps tears of pity  
over thy sad fate!



A statue stands now where her ashes were gathered to be cast into the Seine—  
 but her fittest memorial is the little fountain beneath it.

Its never-ceasing flow is symbolic of her devoted life—  
 Its holy waters of her purity and innocence.

A Caustic writer has said in allusion to the French people and the French King—the ingrates who deserted her—

"If such was the Chivalry of France,  
 Thank God, that our ~~chivalry~~

Unchivalric



generation can hack the golden  
spurs from such recreant heels.

---

In the annals of the  
past there is no record of a struggle  
of the people against tyranny and  
oppression — temporal and spiritual —  
more pregnant with important consequences —  
more mighty in its influence upon the  
destiny of the world — than that  
of our immediate progenitors — the  
Anglo Saxons of Britain.

During  
the early part of the 13<sup>th</sup> century,  
Civilization began to make progress



so marked, that the eyes of the  
 people were opened to a realization  
 of the burdens imposed upon them—  
 and they clamored for redress of  
 grievances. ~~After~~ after long  
 resistance, <sup>this discontent</sup> reached its climax in  
 the reign of King John—from  
 whom was wrested that great  
 Magna Charter of England, signed  
 at Runnymede— one of the chief  
 landmarks of history. <sup>which</sup> <sup>comes</sup>  
<sup>into</sup> <sup>pass</sup> This instrument,  
<sup>was</sup> the germ of all Constitutional liberty—  
 not only in England and America—  
 but wherever else it has been secured



in its most degraded form —  
Not Slavery as it was in Greece  
and Rome, where change of circumstances  
might change the condition of the  
bondman, but Slavery that should  
be perpetual.

In this way they  
introduced a ruinous plank  
into the temple of freedom they  
were about to erect.

That dark  
stain — that blot upon the Nation's  
Escutcheon — caused our Government to  
be a by-word in the world — Everywhere  
the scorn and derision of — Monarchy.



which provoked the Cause 78 <sup>rhymes</sup> ~~lines~~ of  
~~which Campbell one of England's sweetest~~  
~~poets~~

United States, your banner wears  
Two emblems! one of fame;  
Alas! the other that it bears  
Reminds us of your shame!  
The white man's liberty in type,  
Stands blazoned by your stars;  
But what's the meaning of your stripes?  
They mean your negro's scars!

---

That sinful compromise  
with iniquity brought death  
into our New World with all its woes.



It was then our fathers sowed  
the seed of the slave-holder's rebellion—  
from which we are gathering the  
embittered fruit.

This element  
of weakness and corruption incorporated  
into our national life at its very  
start—in its infancy—during  
every stage has served to enervate—  
to tone down the standard of  
morals and to hinder its  
development.

The red waves of  
war, with its terrible consequences, ~~and~~  
~~opening up to mobs riots both in the North and South~~  
have passed over the land—



but the eyes of legislators are not  
yet opened to see the error of  
tampering — ~~of tampering~~ with  
those who instigated the rebellion —  
who forced the nation into a civil  
war — the most terrible of all  
sanguinary conflicts — compelling  
the North to defend themselves.  
The consequences of that ~~civil~~ civil conflict

As yet, despite all  
proofs to the contrary, Northerners  
will not believe that their own  
Edgar desire for reconciliation, is  
not reciprocated by the Southerner —  
whose blatancy scarcely fails to conquer



the incredulity of Congressional  
Committees,

~~They are the only ones who~~  
~~have not yet learned that~~

Mr

There has never been a  
reconstruction of the States, <sup>was never noticed</sup> in a  
spirit of protective justice to the  
colored citizen, who contributed  
so largely and so magnanimously  
to the success of our arms.



It is the lack of a well grounded  
 reconstruction that underlies the Hamburg  
~~Massacre~~ <sup>Cheslem</sup> and other wholesale massacres —  
~~and~~ the intimidation of unprotected  
 freed men — and which ~~has~~ re-acted  
 upon the ballot box — producing the  
 present chaotic condition of the  
 Country.

~~Look here at the consequences~~



Justice deferred but enhances the price at which we purchase safety and peace. ~~Look forward~~ <sup>the consequences</sup> We have arrived at one of those crises in National Affairs, when, if we would have a longer lease of life, we must come up to a higher level — be lifted out of the ruts and grooves of error and corruption, and take an entirely "new departure".

We must have a clearer comprehension of the absolute need of integrity in National affairs



and be able to conceive higher  
visions of National greatness.

There can never be any real  
safety or tranquility in a government  
~~which is known to be~~  
feigning to be representative. It will  
never be truly so until there is an impartial  
representation.

Universal suffrage is based upon the faith  
in human nature,—that good is a stronger  
power in it than evil, and that the surest  
way to bring all the good into action is to  
give it ~~free~~ play and full responsibility.  
Evil is just as powerful in the dark as in the  
light; a mob of ignorant men with the pike  
and the torch are just as dangerous as with  
the ballot. It is the ignorance we must  
abolish, for we cannot destroy the men.

In the present reactionary distrust of uni-  
versal suffrage I see the greatest danger of  
our institutions. In trying to escape from  
it many of our best minds are wasting ener-  
gies that should be given to making it safe,  
by deepening the moral convictions of the  
people, restoring confidence between differ-  
ent classes, and extending intelligence and  
education among all.—Edna D. Cheney in  
the Index.

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and be able to conceive higher  
visions of National greatness.

There can never be any real  
safety or tranquility in a government  
<sup>which is known to be</sup>  
~~feigning~~ to be representative. It will  
never be truly so until there is an impartial  
representation of all the people.

I would not on this  
occasion and in this presence  
enlarge upon the mooted question  
of Suffrage for Woman — but  
think I may be allowed  
simply to suggest that if  
Woman has sufficient physical  
and intellectual strength to



earn money upon which she is taxed, she must have intellect enough to cast a vote in regard to the disposition of those taxes - and that if she has sensibility enough to suffer from the effects of corrupt legislation, she has sense enough discreetly to use the ballot with reference to the proper person in whom to vest legislative power.

It is fitting that America should be a disturber of traditions - of deep rooted prejudices.



Only in this way can she do  
her legitimate work and transmit  
~~it~~ to posterity improved conditions.

The most important  
requisite for the establishment of  
a higher civilization, is a broader  
Educational system — one that shall  
be adapted alike to all classes of  
society — rich and poor — high and  
low.

Esthetic culture and  
private institutions of learning should  
not be encouraged at the expense  
of that popular Education indispensable



to the very existence of a government, in which every man, however low in the social scale, is a sovereign in his own right.

This system of education should extend impartially over the entire country - North and South.

The passage of Judge Hoar's Educational bill in Congress, <sup>just the year</sup> would have secured this desideratum.

But again Legislators obsequiously yielded to the rule



of Southern Demagogues - who demanded that it should be so metamorphosed as to suit their latitude - by the operation of which the Public School at the South is little more than a farce.

A longer neglect to make these views, theoretically conceded, concrete in application, must prove fatal to our experiment of a Free Government.

In France, Prussia Germany, and other parts of Europe - the necessity of educating the masses seems better understood than in this Country



where its importance is infinitely greater.

A government in which unrestricted immigration and universal suffrage co-exist, must, <sup>always</sup> be in imminent danger unless fortified on every hand by intelligence. Without this, in the balance of Republicanism with anarchy the scale will quiver toward the latter.

It is of transcendent importance that our Public School System should stand on a perfectly free, secular basis — that there may exist no possible opportunity for religious or sectarian differences to stir up a factional spirit.



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At every step it should be fortified  
by strict moral training — Especially  
in habits of temperance.

Everywhere  
Intemperance is the hidden source  
of vice and crime.

The School  
should be supplemented by Institutions  
of Reform instead of Houses of  
Correction — Even Jails and Prisons  
should be homes for cure rather  
than for punishment.

As soon as  
the safety of society is secured



by impassable barriers, the process of  
 Cure should commence by employing  
 the best Spiritual guides of the age.

It will be readily perceived  
 by all who reflect upon the subject,  
 that perverted human nature, (as  
 in this class), would stand in the  
 utmost need to be ministered <sup>un</sup> to  
 by those who not only have a genius  
 for teaching—but who, to a broad and  
 generous nature, add the faculty of  
 self-abnegation in order to be brought  
 into so close sympathetic relations  
 as to do them good.



These should be secured at any cost.

Could the theory prevail of classifying convicts according to their merit after entering the prison—by which they would be encouraged in hopes of advancement—or promotion to higher culture—more freedom and comfort—our immense prisons might be converted into disciplinary homes — asylums for the cure of moral disease.

"great cloisters of stillness and seclusion—safe from temptation—safe from sin's pollution."



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This mode of discipline would be far more economical.

Could such a reform be consummated, the discharged convict would not, as now, be more dangerous to society than he was before his incarceration.

The State is ~~now~~ appropriating double as much for furnishing criminals as it is for preventing crime through early training.

By School and Prison Reform, we ought to be able to reverse these figures.

Except in cases where the taste of the Culpit has been completely vitiated he should be furnished with work in his own line.

We all know that in order to progress, human nature should be kept as much as possible at its highest bent.

We are stultified by employments which fail to bring out our noblest faculties - and the Culpit has not lost his humanity. He is still a man and a brother.



In all reformatory movements of this kind Woman's influence is indispensable.

Would it be out of place to ask whether her present political status does not in a great measure cripple that influence?

As a political nonentity she cannot demand the respect of an enfranchised citizen — nor would she be likely <sup>to rise to the level and</sup> to stand abreast with the political issues of the day while she has no direct responsibility in relation to them. Enlightened public sentiment is calling for a change in her position.



The voice of justice, caught ever  
 by the finer ear of the Nation,  
 though low and inarticulate to the  
 masses, will soon gain sufficient  
 volume to be heard and heeded  
 above the clamor of objectors  
 and the hoarse voice of political  
 wrangling.

The right must  
 triumph — if not otherwise  
 through retributive suffering.

How did we learn  
 a lesson of justice to the Colored man?  
 through Bull Run defeats and the



terrible exigencies of War.

In our  
greatest extremities, amid the  
crying need of help from our own  
race, he was at once recognized  
as a man and a soldier.

Added to our ~~own~~ army, 200,000  
black soldiers saved the country.

National Extremities  
of some kind may yet call in the  
help of woman.



Within a few weeks the Republicans of Louisiana have been seriously ~~thinking~~ of resorting to this measure as a political necessity.

In this manner that party may yet wrest success from defeat.

On every hand we hear the cry "what shall we do to be saved"? a 'dire necessity' may yet prove Woman's golden opportunity.

Through the den and smoke



of political warfare we do not discern how so important a change can be accomplished - by what political Bull-Run defeat it can be made practicable.

This is now as inscutable to us as was the "military necessity" of arming the negro at the Commencement of the War.

The ballot-box for him became the correlative of the cartridge-box - and may there not arise some parallel necessity for woman?



The line of progress in political reform is from the one-man power — or despotic power centered in a few — to its more general diffusion — or from Monarchical to Republican Government.

America is the most gigantic experiment of a Republic ever ~~by~~ attempted.

Now has it told upon the world during the last decade of almost unparalleled political corruption — of wasteful and extravagant expenditures with rapid decline of public credit — with the systematic dishonesty of combined rings,



bare-faced defalcations and Emberrlements —  
with gigantic frauds in high places —  
perpetrated by high officials.

All this is  
the exponent of the low moral tone  
of the country in which there  
have been perpetrated crimes of the  
deepest dye, with sickening outrages  
at the North, brutal murders and  
wholesale massacres <sup>with impunity</sup> of American  
Citizens ~~with impunity~~ (if they are  
black) at the South.

The constant  
demand of the masses in every land  
is for their share in the administration  
of Government.